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ABSTRACT

A conference for educators on the subject of school desegregation was sponsored by the University of California, Riverside, in the spring of 1969. Concerned school superintendents, authorities in behavioral science research, government officials, political leaders, and school board members discussed the rationale for attempting to solve racial problems in education and ways in which integration might be accomplished. The dialogue centered around research support, legal requirements, and social, political strategies. This account of the proceedings is presented in the form of representative excerpts from the comments and papers given at the conference. In addition, the superintendents agreed upon a number of recommendations which cover topics in need of research, preservice education, and inservice education of teachers. (Author/JW)

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Conference Proceedings ■ Approaches to

desegregation

The Superintendent's Perspective

April 27-29, 1969
University Extension
University of California
Riverside, California

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APPROACHES TO DESEGREGATION: THE SUPERINTENDENT'S PERSPECTIVE

A Dialogue on April 27 - 29, 1969

University of California Conference Center, Lake Arrowhead

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Sponsored by: University Extension
University of California
Riverside, California

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FOREWORD

The question of who should go to school with whom is one of the most critical problems in the United States today. Recent Supreme Court decisions and federal legislation heighten its immediacy for many school districts. Dimensions of this problem and alternative proposals to provide equal educational opportunities were discussed at the conference "Approaches to Desegregation: The Superintendent's Perspective" sponsored by University of California Extension, Riverside, April 27, 28 and 29, at the University of California Conference Center, Lake Arrowhead. Concerned school superintendents, authorities in behavioral science research, government officials, political leaders and school board members discussed the rationale for attempting to solve this problem and ways in which integration might be accomplished. The dialogue centered around research support, legal requirements, and social and political strategies. The account of the proceedings which follows consists of representative excerpts from the comments and presentations given at the conference. We trust that it will be useful to school administrators, school board

members, and community leaders in their efforts to provide all children equal opportunities to learn and participate in the mainstream of economic and social life.

The State Department of Education's Bureau of Intergroup Relations merits special appreciation for assisting with organizing and encouraging attendence at the conference. We express thanks to all who participated for sharing their concern for the need to improve educational practice.

James R. Hartley
Director
University Extension

Recommendations of twenty-five Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents from schools throughout California of activities the University of California should undertake in assisting schools to deal more effectively with problems of desegregation and providing quality education. Presented April 27, 28 and 29 at the conference, "Approaches to Desegregation: the Superintendent's Perspective", at the University of California Conference Center, Lake Arrowhead.

TOPICS NEEDING RESEARCH:

1. Practical problems of how to organize and gain support for one-way and two-way bussing.

2. Effects on learning, classroom and school social structure of a change in racial or socio-economic balance resulting from desegregation.

3. Effects of tracking and homogeneous grouping in providing quality education. Approaches to providing quality education with heterogeneous grouping.

4. The role of culture-biased intelligence and achievement tests in placement of pupils in classes with "slow learners".

5. The role of paraprofessionals--teaching assistants, community aides, etc., in improving the climate for learning and school-community relations.

6. Causes of unrest on high school and university campuses and a survey of effective actions taken to ameliorate these problems. Data collection is needed to determine whether unrest is more common in well-integrated schools, lily-white schools, segregated schools, etc.

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

1. Proceedings of the conference should be distributed as widely as possible. The 1,800 members of the California Association of School Administrators should receive copies. Perhaps an additional thousand should be available for others.

2. There is no single source of information about events occurring as schools in the Western part of the United

States desegregate. A news letter should be developed to provide concise and essential accounts of events occurring and to present up-to-date summaries of pertinent research findings.

3. Detailed but understandable monographs on topics dealing with desegregation should be available, providing practical information to persons needing it.

PRE-SERVICE EDUCATION

1. Each Campus of the University should enter into a partnership with a school district in its service area for development of a demonstration school where school personnel can observe effective educational practices in an integrated setting.

2. University faculty involved in training teachers should be required to spend a substantial amount of time--probably a full year--teaching in the inner city in order that they be more able to provide relevant training to prospective teachers.

3. The University should use more "master" teachers who have been successful in ghetto schools in its pre-service training.

IN-SERVICE EDUCATION

1. Institutions of higher education should offer programs dealing with issues and approaches to providing integrated and quality education, designed cooperatively with school district personnel.

2. Some materials are available on film and video-tape dealing with the education of black people; more are needed. Almost nothing is available on the education of Mexican-Americans. Greater effort is needed to develop such resources.

3. School superintendents can no longer cope with problems of education by working through groups once considered essential, e.g., the Parent Teachers Association. They need training to understand the nature of the "real" community and how to communicate

and how to communicate and work with groups heretofore not involved in providing equal and quality education.

4. School districts are trying frantically to put together instructional materials in black history, Mexican-American history and culture, and other ethnic groups. University faculty should become involved in assisting schools to develop more adequate curriculum materials covering these topics.

FOLLOW-UP-MEETINGS

1. The twenty-five who attended the Lake Arrowhead program should be invited for a return meeting a year hence, to share what has happened in their school districts and discuss next steps.

2. Other superintendents should be invited to programs similar to this one.

3. A critically important group to invite to similar programs would be school board members, who are probably holding back progress in desegregation and providing quality education.

4. The University should present dialogues involving cross-sectional community representation from school board members, chamber of commerce and taxpayers association members and other community leaders to acquaint them with research findings and empirical data about ways of providing integrated and quality education.

UCX UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA EXTENSION RIVERSIDE

APPROACHES TO DESEGREGATION: THE SUPERINTENDENT'S PERSPECTIVE

A Dialogue on April 27 - 29, 1969

University of California Conference Center, Lake Arrowhead

Moderator: Dr. Paul H. Sheats, Professor of Education
University of California, Los Angeles

Sunday, April 27

3:00 - 5:00 p. m.	Registration
5:30	Social Hour Terrace Room
6:30	Dinner
7:45	Opening Session POLITICAL ISSUES AND COMMUNITY PROBLEMS IN DESEGREGATING: A PANEL DISCUSSION The Hon. Mervyn M. Dymally, California State Senator, 29th District Arthur Littleworth, President, Board of Education, Riverside Unified School District Thomas Harward, M.D., Vice President, State Board of Education Dr. Julian Nava, Member, Board of Education, Los Angeles

Monday, April 28

8:00 - 9:00 a. m.	Breakfast
9:00	Morning Session SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL FACTORS IN COMMUNITIES IN PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION Dr. Robert Crain, Professor of Social Relations, Johns Hopkins University
10:15	Coffee Break
12:15 p. m.	Luncheon

1:45 p.m.	Afternoon Session THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 Lloyd Henderson, Acting Chief, United States Office of Civil Rights
3:15	Coffee Break
5:00	Social Hour
6:15	Dinner
7:45	Evening Session DIALOGUE CONTINUES WITHOUT SPEAKER

Tuesday, April 29

8:00 - 9:00 a.m.	Breakfast
9:00	Morning Session DIALOGUE CONTINUES WITHOUT SPEAKER
10:15	Coffee Break
12:00 p.m.	Conference Closing
12:30	Luncheon

RESOURCE PEOPLE:

Arthur Azevedo, Administrative Assistant to Assemblyman William Bagley, Marin County

Ples Griffin, Bureau of Intergroup Relations

Gus Guichard, Bureau of Intergroup Relations

Fred Gunsky, Bureau of Intergroup Relations

Dr. Jane Mercer, Project Director, Riverside School Study Project, University of California, Riverside

Dr. Charles Molina, Bureau of Intergroup Relations

Floyd Pierce, Regional Director, Office of Civil Rights, San Francisco

Ernest Robles, Program Officer, Division of Equal Educational Opportunities, United States Office of Education, San Francisco

EVENING SESSION OF APRIL 27, 1969

Discussion with Dr. Julian Nava, L.A. School Board; State Senator Mervin Dymally, and Mr. Arthur Littleworth, Riverside School Board President.

Dr. Paul Sheats: I suppose that superintendents, along with their educational colleagues in the colleges and universities in the presidential role, are in about the hottest spot in the United States today. You are sort of caught in a bind, really, because on one hand you must somehow try to engineer or to discuss these processes of change so that they become not just a neutral word "change," but really represent some social progress toward the solution of our common problems. Yet on the other side, you superintendents are responsible to constituencies which represent some fairly heavy resistance to change. It is not our purpose to place blame. It is simply a condition we have to face. We are hopeful that as a result of the discussions we will have here in the next day and a half, we may all learn something about these processes of change and how we can control them or engineer them to the point where they do move us forward in the solution of these critical problems we all face, of which desegregation is certainly one of the most important.

purpose of conference

Dr. Julian Nava: I think all of us have to decide ourselves wherever we are, whether a large school district or small school district, whether we lead or whether we follow. It is my impression that most school districts are probably following rather than leading, generally.

Certainly in Los Angeles, and I have a hunch it is true in other school districts, there really isn't one public, as we think about the public, but groups, inter-groups, pressure groups, civic groups are shifting within what we call the public. I think that unless we keep in touch with the shifting alliances and the shifting interests and changing levels of sophistication in what we call the public, we won't be able to decide whether or not we lead or follow in a given instance.

many publics

Another case in point is, as I see it, at least, declining interest among Mexican-Americans and also declining interest among Black Americans for integration, and greater interest or emphasis instead on quality education. In fact, I think it is rather ironic that they have begun talking more and more about quality of education before we have really got started on desegregation. I see quality

declining support for integration

education as really now in some respects even more relevant and more significant than desegregation.

Los Angeles programs

In Los Angeles it is my impression after almost two years on the board its efforts could be described as gradualism, piecemeal efforts, conscious efforts. I am aware of significant programs such as the program for inter-school enrichment which is a very modest desegregation or integration program where students from different schools took part in extracurricular and curricular activities such as field trips, drawn from different schools for the purpose of integration of that trip, although the students go back to their own school. Also, the Apex program was a modified plan of the comprehensive high school. Students move with a limited amount of freedom from one school to another in order to take the courses they want to take which are stressed in a given school. And perhaps you have heard about our voluntary bussing program, a very, very small program, having $192,000 allotted to it. My understanding is that it is extremely successful in every respect, yet extremely modest.

Staff is as important as the students in

some respects. There is more and more emphasis on having minority staffs teach in minority schools. I think along with new personnel practices and new examinations that will recognize the peculiar qualities of minority staff, recruitment programs can be another thing that can be helpful. Rule 3046 allows our board to approve a recommendation by staff to appoint minority staff members at virtually any administrative level, where statute permits, in order to accomplish the development of minority staff personnel.

The few things we have done in Los Angeles City schools, in which we have attempted to desegregate the school district, have aroused undue opposition from sectors of the majority community and some opposition from members of the minority communities. I think, by the same token, that one of the encouraging elements is that there are more and more WASP's, for the lack of a better term, Anglo-Protestant majority educators, that are beginning to see that it is only a question of time and how, rather than whether. In fact, I predict that with respect to desegregation, before very long it may very well be the majority

population pushing desegregation rather than the minority population pushing desegregation, because I sense that an increasing number of individuals in the minority groups feel they may have more to gain from either decentralization or having their black or brown school districts.

With these ideas I would finish saying finally that almost anything will take more than simply principle or conviction. It seems to me that it always takes money, and this is the Achilles' heel for all education today, and so perhaps the most

finances

dangerous or the greatest obstacle that any professor has today is the question asked by opponents of integration, "Why spend dollars on desegregation rather than improving the school program?" and with that I will stop.

Mr. Arthur Littleworth: Let me say at the outset that I recognize that what can be done perhaps in Riverside and what may be good for Riverside may not necessarily be possible or good for other areas.

history of integration in Riverside

I think you have to go back in the Riverside system to 1963. We had spent, then, two years on quality education. At that point we were working

very closely with the minority communities, and they did not want integration at that point. We had a pretty wide range of programs which would generally go under the heading of compensatory education or attempting to build quality education.

In 1965 three weeks after the Watts Riot, we had some similar kind of situation in Riverside. We had a school that was burned, an elementary school, one of the black schools, the segregated schools. No question about it being a case of arson. It was out of that crisis that the board and the administration made the decision to desegregate, and we made the decision in about 30 days. We were able to get the boycott stopped and to have a period of 30 days in which we were hopeful that we could develop a plan which would be acceptable to the minority communities and to the majority community in Riverside. We used a small citizens committee, a sounding board committee, as we called it, which had a very wide range of views on it from rather hostile minorities to very conservative business people, and it was about 18 or 20 members in size. I don't think any of us started out with the idea that we were

going to end up with a plan for total desegregation.

The critical factor in making the decision probably was a conclusion on our part that we were not going to be able to do the job that was necessary with the program which had been going on, and we felt that the only way we had a chance to accomplish the kind of educational program that we thought was necessary was through integration, and we thought finally that we could do it.

community attitudes in Riverside

We had, so far as community problems were concerned, I would say different problems with different segments of the community. Our problem with the black community was to try not to overpromise, to try to establish a sense of trust and a sense that we were sincere and that they could rely on what we said we were going to do. But we had, and this would probably be a different situation if this were to come up today, we had very strong support for the integration program from the black community.

With the white community, the main problem, I think, was that because of the fire, the

violence that had occurred, any constructive approach at that point looked like it was bowing to simply a show of force. There were some concerns about costs. There were some concerns about favoritism, and so forth. Most of these things, though, I think we could answer. The costs actually in our system turned out to be rather small, and as far as favoritism was concerned, I think we were ultimately about to point out to the community that the school system had been in the business of trying to give special attention to special needs, and we had a special need here that was going to take a different kind of action.

The Mexican-American community was split, and probably at the time the decision was made, stood more for continuing in the neighborhood school, just as it always had been, than they did for any type of integration. We decided to go ahead and require the integration of Mexican-American children against the will of the majority of the local community. But we planned the integration of the Mexican-American community to come last, and we planned that inte-

gration would occur over a period of not less than three years, unless we were able to work out a program with the community which would bring it about sooner. We then held a series of meetings in the community, and ultimately out of that kind of discussion at the local neighborhood level, we finally were able to get complete support of the group that we were dealing with which had been greatly split to start with.

Once the plan was developed, we had two very large public hearings at which the attendance was probably fairly equally split in two large auditoriums, and the board made its decision at the end of that second hearing, a period of a couple of weeks. There was a period of time for a week or two after that where we wondered whether there would then be recall petitions, and so on, but that did not occur, and most of the community then took the view that, then, we will sit back and see what happens. I did not get a single telephone call, letter or anything else in opposition. It was a smooth opening of school, as though nothing were really happening. That fall we had two board members, who were involved in

the decision, and we were both up for re-election, and we only had one candidate run against us, and we were both re-elected by very large majorities, so I suppose the lesson out of that is that majority community acceptance is not perhaps as difficult as sometimes we might think it is.

results in Riverside

So far as what the results are, we have a very major study going on at the University of California with a team of people, some eight or ten members of their staff, their academic staff, on this. I think that we can point to some considerable accomplishments, but probably not as many as we might have thought in the early stages. I think they are to some extent educational, to some extent they involve simply our community relations, and perhaps what is equally important, the basic fabrication of whether we are going to be able to exist as one people and get along, as we profess in our ideals. Primarily, it has emphasized and expedited tremendously a re-individualization of the instruction in schools, and this has occurred for everybody, not just minority children, and I think the school system is much better for what has occurred. So far as educa-

tion of minority children is concerned, though, integration is but one step. Certainly, there are many other things which then are required and which are being carried on in our system and I am sure will have to be continued to be done if we hope to achieve the goals that we originally set for ourselves.

Senator Dymally: Recently, integration, which was the main theme of the civil rights movement, has begun to take a back seat, so to speak. The more militant elements in the movement began saying the problem with education is that it needs to be controlled by neighborhood people, by local people, and thus the concept of decentralization. Integration was a combination of white liberal and black middle class, so integration really never got to what we call the soul folks, the grass roots people. The interest in integration, as Julian has indicated, is dying, if it is not already dead in the ghetto, and people are beginning to talk now about quality education. Militant blacks and browns are talking about local controls which white conservatives talk about, because white conservatives have a great deal of success in controlling their own neighborhoods and schools, and the black militants are copying this concept. These people are talking about three different

emphasis shifting to decentralization

things at the same time -- self-determination, local control, decentralization. I am not satisfied that they are talking enough about quality education, because I think decentralization per se without quality education is probably even worse than what we have now.

lack of legislative and executive leadership

As far as the Legislature is concerned, I can say with a great degree of certainty that there is a great deal of indifference about the whole question of integration. The Supreme Court decision on reapportionment brought to the California Legislature urban conservative representation. The result of that has been that we have not seen any executive or representative leadership in the field of education in the last three years.

both quality and integrated education

So I think we must begin to talk about those things. We must begin to talk about integration where it is possible and quality education where integration is not possible. They should not be mutually exclusive. They both are compatible. We should be talking about both quality and integrated education.

The next attack will be on compensatory education, because as we look around compensatory

education, we see that the majority of children in the mentally retarded program are brown and black. It has been suggested that the premise on which the program was conceived was wrong; that is, that poor children who were necessarily culturally disadvantaged -- it has been suggested that perhaps they were culturally different. We need to shift the program into one of intensive reading instead of compensating for white Anglo-Saxon middle class culture.

weakness of compensatory education

You have to begin to design a new kind of curriculum to meet the needs of the child in the ghetto whose parents are not at all happy with half-day sessions, with crowded classrooms, children who are not able to read, and this is the challenge. I think our problem is that this country lacks a national will to solve the human crisis. The restlessness of the ghetto will intensify as the months come.

Dr. Nava: I am impressed with the fact that the Riverside board was able to move quickly. If a board moves quickly, it can prevent resistance problems, questions and issues that are not really related to the heart of the matter, as against

need to move quickly

extensive study and lengthy public debate in order to give misguidedly everyone a chance to have their say and in the process open up an emotional situation out of which really there is no solution.

Question: Did you contradict yourself a little bit by saying on the one hand that it was right, that it was politically wise to move fast to prevent the opposition from having time to organize and then saying that it is important to conduct an educational campaign to promote the merits of what you are doing?

Dr. Nava: I don't think it is a contradiction. The need to move fast is not to forestall opposition, but to lessen confusion.

Dr. Crain: The two big city school districts that I studied in my book, the two that did the most did move quickly.

Question: I would like to ask a question of Mr. Littleworth. What happened to all the special programs you had prior to your desegregation plan for helping these children?

supplementary programs in Riverside

Mr. Littleworth: It took reorganization. And fortunately the Title I money was coming in. We had to reorganize the kinds of things we were doing, and

we have, I suppose, done even more now than we were doing before.

Question: Do you have ability grouping in your schools in an integrated set-up?

Mr. Littleworth: We have had a combination of some ability grouping and then kinds of groups which cut across all kinds of ability.

Question: Are you sponsoring legislation to change the criteria for mentally gifted?

Senator Dymally: The law has been passed and it will certainly be in effect. You will select many Mexican-Americans and many blacks for this program without getting the I.Q. test.

One question I had with respect to Riverside, where you had your integrated set-up, has this been paralleled by some pressure for decentralization?

Mr. Littleworth: Yes, but not from the minority community. We have been decentralizing, but the pressure has come from the superintendent, and this has long been a philosophy of his that more decisions had to be made by the principals and at the principal level.

Senator Dymally: What about local advisory

groups? On policy matters, not curriculum. Julian made a comment on that. Would you comment a little further on that?

use of local advisory groups

Dr. Nava: There are many plans throughout the country, be it in Philadelphia, be it in Detroit or, let's say St. Louis, so that if schools invite -- in some cases they have given way to community demands -- you invite the community to enter into school - control committees to consult on curriculum, staff hiring, promotion, discipline, dress codes, and so forth. It works only where the committee is not advisory in the sense that the principal can or cannot listen, where once the committee is formed the decisions are binding on all of those concerned. There is a reluctance on the part of the community people generally to be part of an advisory group. They don't want to simply talk.

Senator Dymally: Would it be your position that school boards and superintendents in their efforts to counter decentralization, are making some moves to give people in the community the possibility of influencing education?

Dr. Nava: Oh, sure. Of course, this would be a standard administrative ploy. You give only what

you think you have to give. Also we had examples where the idea has been embraced with enthusiasm and yet the community does not always recognize it as such.

Dr. Sheats: Maybe part of the reason is you just don't delegate the decision-making process. You have to train people and equip them with the skills to make decisions.

Dr. Nava: I would take issue in part with what you say. You don't lead the community. You get the community involved and then you help them the way they want to be helped. In some of the ghettos, many community groups say, "You have goofed up for so long, let us goof up for a while."

Dr. Sheats: I understood Senator Dymally, though, to say earlier that you have got a peculiar axis here in favor of segregation which includes the militant blacks and browns and the white conservative. I don't see how you come out on this kind of a deal.

conservative -- minority axis

Senator Dymally: I think it is part of the frustration of the ghetto, and usually I find that the anger is taken out by militant groups

on their friends. So you say, look, we want to make our deals with whoever comes by. It just happened the guy who is coming by right now in decentralization is the white conservative.

Dr. Sheats: Your white conservatives are not necessarily going to foot the bill to give you quality education, are they?

Dr. Nava: Some claim they are. Some are saying, "We are willing to pay the price."

Question: Do you reject the idea that integration is part and parcel of quality education?

quality education vs. integration

Senator Dymally: I am saying we can have integrated education without quality education.

Question: And you can't have quality education without integration?

Senator Dymally: Yes. Yes, you can. I have visited Dr. Mann who is coming here from New York. I have been to his school in Harlem, poor whites, poor blacks and poor Puerto Ricans, and they are achieving at the national or above the national level, but he will probably not last one day in California, because he does not necessarily go for creden-

tialed teachers.

Question: You alter your point of view a little bit about quality and integration. You say you can have quality education without integration. By the same token, would you say the extent to which you lack integration, to this same extent you lack quality where you can get it?

Senator Dymally: My only concern is that in my lifetime it will not be possible to integrate Harlem, South Side Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, possibly San Francisco. What do we do then? Most of the dialogue, all of the energies are spent on integration and very little on quality.

Question: How would you get quality education in a segregated school system?

Senator Dymally: I have seen it happen in New York.

Participant: Don't you think somebody should define it first? We are all discussing quality.

Senator Dymally: If I were in the ghetto, my concern and my definition would

be, can the child read. Since we are all college-oriented, can they go to college, can they go to "Tech." That would to me be quality. Can they spell.

Participant: If we eventually have to function in a society together, then I can't see how you can have quality education without a togetherness early enough when it counts so there is not that much of a difference between you when you get to the high school level.

Dr. Sheats: Let me ask this: In these examples you have given us, the experience of cross-cultural communication which you will not get in an unintegrated school, is the theory here that it is postponed to a later point in time, or is the idea that you can introduce other kinds of experience that will provide that?

Senator Dymally: The majority of his teachers are white, so they had that cross-cultural contact.

Participant: I have a question of Dr. Nava. In the new board policies regarding, say, a Chicano to become a vice principal, do they

have to have the credential to go along with it?

Dr. Nava: The Rule 3046 is such that people can be appointed to these positions only if they have the credential. There is still, I believe, an opportunity that we have used to a very limited extent of appointing people to an acting position and then simply encourage them or wait for them to obtain the credential so that they could then be put into the regular line operation.

promotion of minority employees

In Riverside you moved very quickly on a full-scale basis because you were convinced that you were going to be successful. And you had an immediate success, observable success, so you no longer had to fight the people in the sense you had already proven yourself, whereas in Los Angeles where you moved on a piecemeal basis, you are constantly having to prove that you have achieved success before you can move anywhere else. Freedom of opportunity generally has not provided the corrective measures most of us think are desirable. It was not until the balance on the board changed that the board made a determined policy move in favor of integration, but then in a political compromise adopted the voluntary bussing

Los Angeles compromise

program which is an admitted compromise. I doubt there would have been board votes for an enforced integration.

Mr. Littleworth: In our situation we had a unified board and a unified administration, and that makes a great deal of difference.

need for united administration

MORNING SESSION OF APRIL 28, 1969

Discussion with Dr. Robert L. Crain, Associate Professor of Social Relations, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore Maryland

Dr. Robert Crain: There is a myth, which says that most cities that integrated their schools did not get a difference on achievement. Many districts didn't get much difference, but this was because the evaluation studies were poorly done. There is not a school system in the country which was able to accomplish school integration as an experimental design in which there was a controlled group which could be honestly compared to a group of Negro students who were moved into integrated schools. Also since the intelligence test and the achievement test measure the same thing, then it is fairly obvious you are not going to get any results if you match, interchange and look at achievement test scores, and so forth. Finally, presumably a good evaluation survey of the effect of integration would take approximately nine years of integrated schooling before you could evaluate it. The final thing about the evaluation studies is that many of the people who talked about them, like me, hadn't read them. There was a need for all of us to say that integration was

weaknesses of evaluation studies

not going to show any effect.

Coleman Report

Anyway, the Office of Education, did something very different with the Coleman Report. It is a survey of something on the order of 600,000 students in 1400 high schools and all the feeder schools that feed them in a national sample. It is a questionnaire addressed to the pupils in the school, their teachers and principal in the school, superintendent in each of these schools and deals heavily with achievement but also with family background variables, and so forth. James Coleman came away from that study impressed that school integration was having an effect.

study for N.O.R.C.

I was at the National Opinion Research Center and three of us there were approached by the Civil Rights Commission and told that the Civil Rights Commission wanted to measure the effect of integration on Negro students. They wanted a survey done of adult Negroes living in Northern cities in order to compare those with integrated and those with segregated school experience, and they wanted to see if those who went to integrated schools were more likely to go to college, have better jobs, make more money, were more likely to live in

white neighborhoods, were more in favor of integration, scored higher on intelligence tests, and that sort of thing. Our immediate reaction was one of horror. I have seen a lot of evaluation surveys, and the easiest thing you can do is find no effect. There are lots of reasons why you find no effect, but, as you know, no one has succeeded in doing an evaluation study that proves people learn anything from going to school.

The survey I am going to talk about was run at the N.O.R.C., University of Chicago. It is a random sample survey of 1,700 Negroes, aged 21 to 45, throughout the metropolitan area of the North and West. We defined school integration. We defined an integrated school as one where about half or more of the students in the school were white. We put together a two-hour, 52-page questionnaire in which we recorded the respondent's educational attainment, his occupation, a lot of questions about his experience with whites, marital stability; you name it, it is in there. Also a short test of verbal achievement.

Everything worked. If you match people who went to northern integrated schools versus those

the results of the study

who went to northern segregated schools, you find that the high school drop-out rate is reduced by one-fifth for women and one-third for men as a result of attending an integrated school. College attendance goes up even more statistically for people who have gone to integrated schools. These differences are not due to background. The kids who went to integrated and segregated schools are about the same in parents' education, parents' occupation, family stability. We then put together a half-dozen questions about the amount of contact that these people had with white people, and if you scale these items and put them together, the number who have low contact, about one-third of the sample, come heavily out of segregated high schools and elementary schools. Those out of integrated schools are a quarter or a third less likely to have low contact with whites. The intelligence test, achievement test we used which I call verbal achievement, for simplicity, is a test developed by J. B. Miner. It is good enough to show something, but it is not terribly good. It shows improvement. It shows higher test scores among the adult Negroes

who went to integrated schools. The difference is not terribly large in achievement. I suspect that this is one of the places where it looks like the integration effect washes out in a segregated society over time. Those who went to integrated elementary schools and high schools are more likely now 15 years later to be living in integrated neighborhoods. Those who went to integrated schools are more likely to be working -- the men are more likely to be working in the professions, in white-collar jobs and in the crafts, and this difference cannot be attributed simply to education. On income, my conclusion is that going to integrated schools raises one's income about $300 a year for a male. Two-thirds of that $300 is a result of having higher education. The last $100 is apparently directly attributable to the fact that the school had white faces in it.

Do you believe this? I am not telling you to tell me whether it is true or not. I know it is true, but do you believe it? If what I said is true and it is, then school integration is by far and away the most powerful educational

technique you have got at your disposal to increase high school graduation, verbal achievement, the occupational success of your students.

Question: Does integration affect the Caucasian student with these plus factors you have pointed out for the minority youngster?

Dr. Crain: I did not look at the whites. Coleman did. In general, the effects of integration on white pupils is almost imperceptibly negative.

effects on whites

Question: What was the answer if they were in a segregated setting in the elementary school and integrated setting in high school?

Dr. Crain: There are a couple of indications in the data that elementary school integration is also important, some things like your probably graduating from high school are affected by whether your high school is integrated. Your going to college is probably affected equally by whether your elementary school was integrated and your high school was integrated.

elementary vs. secondary integration

Question: This may be a negative position, but we have found that it is the degree of integration. If you have ten percent of the minority

in a school, you won't impress reading figures. Go to 20 and you won't. At 48 and 50 percent it is very significant for both the Anglo and the minority group, so it is the degree of integration of the school also that has some effect. Did you control that in any way?

Dr. Crain: Yes. I am looking now only at Negroes and, as I say, Coleman finds this very small tendency on whites. I am talking only about Negroes. The whiter a school is the better the achievement on all these variables.

degree of integration

Participant: So really you are not talking about percentage of integration, although this is what you get. You are really talking about socio-economic level of the school community, are you not?

Participant: What I read into your findings is that they tend to confirm the fears that the white resisters have, as expressed rather graphically recently by a union teacher who works in my district during a weekend conference dealing with the black American. His comment was, "If you think that I am going to do everything I can to help these people take my job

away from me, you are crazy."

Question: We find when we integrate we have to provide many other services we ordinarily would not. This is what concerns us. I was wondering whether in your research you found any indication of this.

Dr. Crain: The indication of these studies is that you don't have to and you will get the achievement. These achievement results were gotten with plain, ordinary integrated schools in the '40's.

Question: Do you think that the situation today is comparable? In other words, you did not have, when they were going to high school, you didn't have the tremendous resistance.

Dr. Crain: I have no data which talks one way or the other to that. My own gut reaction is that political ideology and the statements made by political leaders change very fast. The personalities of people change very slowly. So that while the reaction of the leadership of the United States and all its different kinds of leaders ranging from the club organization to the president may change drastically in 20 years, I

results would be the same now

don't think that the man in the street's personality structure has changed all that much in 20 years. So I don't think there would be that much difference.

Question: Do you have the effect of living in an integrated community or attending an integrated school?

not neighborhood effects

Dr. Crain: I had a student look very quickly at that, and these were definitely school effects, not neighborhood effects.

Participant: I have some other concerns I am interested in. First of all, I am willing to accept the fact that all the research that has been done points up the fact that integration is a positive force in achievement and also that integration is necessary to quality education. I would much prefer to get into the political implications in how we are going to bring this about.

Participant: You are accepting something without the justification.

Participant: No, I am not. I think I have adequate justification from the Coleman Report and from the studies that Dodson has done in the New York area, from the studies that have been done in California in San Mateo County, from the research

statistics that were just cited here.

Participant: I think maybe you probably have much more background than myself and maybe other people in this room, but I think it is important that we know as much as we can, whether the improvement in the education is a result of the integration or is the improvement as a result of many other factors that were found in the integrated school. If we can get this done, I think then you and I are in a little better position to say that integration does cause this and this is a result of integration and not a difference in teachers and not in a difference in quality in schools.

what causes improvement

Dr. Crain: Do any of you have any gut reaction from your own feelings about what you know about psychology and what you know about Negroes why being in school with white faces would make any difference?

Participant: Sure, attitude. The first thing before anybody achieves, you have to be happy and know who you are, and if you feel you are not accepted, if you don't feel you are pretty good and have that potential and you can

make it in this world, I don't care what color you are or who you are, because you are defeated.

Question: I have attended a meeting recently where a member of the black community raised the question of whether youngsters, black youngsters, would be as highly -- why wouldn't they be as highly motivated by being associated with middle class black youngsters. And I was wondering, are you aware of any studies that might show whether it is color or could a black group do the same thing?

Dr. Crain: Yes, I can talk about it. I will after coffee.

Participant: I kind of wonder about whether just integration by itself is the answer either, because we have a junior high school where we have a slight imbalance, where only about 20 percent of our children in the school are Mexican-American. Yet these children, even though they are with the white community or white children, still have been isolated. They don't mix with the children.

is integration enough?

Participant: Without the mix you can't do much is what we are saying.

Participant: I think quite honestly we may

not be moving to that point, because we do not want the kind of equality that an integrated society might engender and I would submit that for your discussion. The other thing has to do with the question which Bob asked at the outset and then we asked about gut-level reaction and which seemingly everyone avoided. I say seemingly, because I think if I assess the kinds of questions that were being asked in response to the dialogue that you presented, Bob, that you are getting that gut-level reaction, because by and large the questions seemed to be looking for a kind of information which would be contrary to your conclusions.

BREAK

Dr. Crain: I think you all and others like you would really go into a rage at the thought of having your math curriculum shot down by a bunch of right-wingers out there someplace, and yet some-how I think all of us are a little more tolerant of the races who want to prevent integration because it is a sociological frill. It turns out that I spent a number of months worrying

about this particular question, and I came away, I think, with some convincing data that what has happened to my Negro adults is an integration effect and, that is to say, it is the direct educational consequence of having white faces in the classroom and not differences in quality of school and not difference in the quality of teaching.

To make the argument, let me first pick it up by saying that Negroes who went to integrated schools are more likely to have contact with whites now. Why? the obvious answer is that they are not as afraid of whites by going especially to elementary school with whites. They are used to being around them and ultimately the important thing to learn in an integrated school is that the white people are not as bad as you think they are.

But what good does it do you to have white friends? It helps you to get better jobs. But, more important, is the way they feel about whites, and we have put together a scale with half a dozen items which measures the extent to which you think white people are prejudiced and the extent to which you would like to get even with them. Going to an integrated school means you are less pre-

integration decreases prejudice towards whites

judiced against whites and you are more willing to think white people will give you a chance. That is racial and that is not something that can be manipulated by other aspects of the curriculum. For whites, whether you achieve or not, is strongly related with how good you think you are. With blacks it is strongly correlated with how mean you think the world is or how little control you think you have of your chances of getting ahead. This is especially true for Negro men, because Negro men have to deal with working. A good deal of research in the last five years has been done which simply asks people, how are you feeling these days. Negro women act much like whites, that is to say, Negro women whose family income is high are happier. For Negro men it doesn't work. Negro men who make more money are not happier than those who make less money. What does make a difference in whether they feel happy is their feeling about white people, and behind that one of the best predictors of whether a Negro man will say he is happy or not is whether he went to an integrated school.

Participant: We have had a strong push to

hiring minorities

go to the black colleges and recruit black teachers to go to the white classes. It seems to me you have given a real strong argument not to.

Dr. Crain: Well, if there were no political considerations involved, and I had a limited amount of money to spend to hire my own staff, I would look for blacks from integrated colleges and I wouldn't touch blacks in segregated schools myself. Oh, man, is it ever complicated! I guess the finding of the research is that this tells you nothing about how to hire teachers, and I am sorry I said anything.

Participant: I hear that there might be a correlation between the color of the teacher and the caliber of the teacher, and this correlation concerns me, because in working with teachers I find none at all.

need for long-range evaluation studies

Jane Mercer: Bob said before the break he had to have nine years in order to evaluate. You are looking at these people ten or fifteen years later. In Riverside the compensatory education program was abandoned after two years as a failure. That is sad. I find the same sort of think going on with desegregation.

Question: Let's take the non-achiever by third grade who is a straight D or F student, who is a minority youngster. You have told him he is a failure. The only place in our society a person is indicated to be a failure is in the school primarily, so how does that increase his self-confidence to have contact with whites who may be achieving and, therefore, they in turn term the school successful?

Dr. Crain: Apparently even if the black kids are making bad grades, the net effect is not negative but positive, which surprises me, frankly, but that is what the numbers say.

Jane Mercer: We are finding that after three years there is no change in the Negro kids, in the Mexican kids' self-concept scores. There is no catastrophic loss of self-concept.

no loss of self-concept

Dr. Crain: It is also true in many segregated classrooms, the grade distribution given by the teachers has been scooted down. I am pretty sure this is true, although nobody has ever run out and investigated that.

Participant: I feel like we ought to push Dr. Crain while he is here on the strategy. He

has done a tremendous national study on the politics of school desegregation, so I think he has something that he could say on this.

Dr. Crain: It is a matter of figuring out how to put a plan together and put it into effect without the repercussions from the voters being horrendous. So the first question is what can the voters do to you if you desegregate the schools. And I think a very interesting thing could be done, but nobody has done it, is just to do a kind of census of what has been done. How many school boards or school board members have been turned out of office? How many superintendents have been fired because of pro-integration? Interestingly enough, the cases that I know where a racist campaign was effective tend to be in cities which refuse to desegregate, Boston, for example. I can organize an anti-Negro campaign in any city of the country at any time. Just anybody can do it. And whether you desegregate the schools or not does not necessarily mean you won't get the campaign.

racist campaign can develop even without integration

The second thing, campaigns take time to organize. If you want to start organizing a campaign to defeat a bond issue, it may take you five years to pull it off, and some bond issues may get passed before you reach full strength, so the point you were making last night about timing is important.

need for speed

The third thing is really not a political question but a moral question. Given that the school system has the right to desegregate the schools, given that you produce a desegregation plan, you can probably put one together and put it into effect before the white racists have a chance to organize. What is your moral duty to the segregationists? Do you have a moral duty to give them an opportunity to express their point of view and develop their political strength so that you can do what the community wants you to do or do you not have that moral obligation? It seems to me that is a critical question, especially in California, because California has had a long tradition of citizen participation where it is always considered proper and necessary to go to the people.

moral duty

There are, I think, several things underlying white people's fear of integration. One is, you know, sex. And as soon as somebody says, "reverse bussing," the imagination of taking their daughter on a bus into the ghetto where she can get raped is very vivid, and I think that is true for any of us. Reverse bussing is touching really fundamental hostility. Integration itself, does not touch particularly strong anxieties. White people are not terribly opposed to school integration. They never have been opposed to school integration. They don't like to see Negroes having political power and being able to get special favors and all that kind of thing. But school integration itself is not very disastrous. This to me sounds like the politically right way to integrate schools is to make sure that you don't have any Negroes asking for integration.

whites oppose 2-way inte-gration

In my own study I took eight Northern cities and simply looked at the ones that did something and those that did not, and I really have only about three things to say. One is the cities that did things did not have more liberal white populations. The amount of potential hostility in

the city is not what explains it. The amount of ability of the Civil Rights Movement to organize also is not the explanatory variable. The other variable that ran straight through was the willingness of, the commitment of the school board, their liberalism and their guts. The systems that desegregated were ones that had high status liberal boards whose re-election was somewhat protected.

importance of board's commitment

The suggestion seems to be that if you can keep people from organizing about integration and then move fairly quickly with a desegregation plan, you can pull it off. I don't think there is any case in the United States where opposition to integration has been organized after the integration plan was in effect. I think there will be a few, but not very many. New York City looks something like that, but the stickler in New York City was that you did not get opposition in New York until the Princeton Plan. You can always get opposition on the reverse bussing. Also, you have got to move with a fairly united school board.

Question: In the case of St. Louis which you say was most successful in your study, what

was done prior to the plan in both the receiving and sending communities?

Dr. Crain: I don't know very much about the details of the human relations plan. I am sure there was some kind of effort made out there. There were a few meetings, but it seems to me that not a great deal was done. There were a couple of important political factors. One was that they bussed into schools which were some distance away from the ghetto, and they tended to lay off those schools which were in areas where the neighborhood was likely to go Negro. That seems to be important, to treat very tenderly the areas that are going to go Negro or Negroes are moving in. Indeed, most of the strong support you can get for integration is from whites in integrated neighborhoods, because they need their school to be integrated, meaning that they need some whites at their school.

don't bus into minority schools

Question: Didn't you find if the school board member was using the school board as a platform for higher state office or for some sort of extraneous political gain that, hence, this was a very tough situation?

Dr. Crain: The first question you have to ask

is who stands to gain by organizing a political campaign against you and then how do you stop them from organizing it. Politics is an extremely bloody, rough game. You play to win this game. Any politician who says, I am going to educate the voters on the issues -- he has got to have lots of money, because it is going to cost him a lot.

the game of politics

Participant: I have to make a protest at that point, because I think if you drive a community into a win-loss situation, you have already lost. I think there is a middle ground.

Dr. Crain: You are exactly right, and St. Louis was a very tricky situation. Yet they desegregated in a matter of -- over the course of a summer -- and were bussing 2,000 kids in the fall with no warning the preceding June. The decision hadn't been made yet, and then one-third of the board was up for re-election, including the Negro member, and the only Negro politician in St. Louis who is elected city-wide in a city which is 65 percent white. He did better after the desegregation

the case of St. Louis

plan than he had done before. Then there was a bond issue which was to go before desegregation. It lost and was rerun after and won. St. Louis is a good example. You move up right in. You don't wind up with more conflict.

But if you have a Pasadena or Berkeley or Boston where there is a long pattern of hostility and political in-fighting, where you have a board divided, you are going to have to use a different strategy. Boston got the state board to come in and order them, and that is a technique that I think some of you can use. Where you have already got the conflict, you are not going to be able to avoid it. Where you don't have the conflict, moving fast will avoid it occurring. People don't like fights. And the public has a natural tendency to steer clear of them.

can avoid if move with speed

use of court order

Question: Do I seem to hear you say that it would help to have a court order?

Dr. Crain: Oh, sure. This helps a great deal.

Question: Most of us represented here are having financial problems this year. Do you

have any feeling about what financial problems have to do with this problem?

Dr. Crain: Talking politics, it seems to me that one thing you don't want to do, if you have got money trouble, is act indecisively or act like you don't know what you are doing. Any kind of conflict is going to cost you your next bond election, I think.

avoiding conflict saves money

Question: Our issue no longer is local election. Our issue is the state. Most of us have already faced the facts that local tax elections are past and gone. What effect is that going to have?

finances

Theron Johnson: I happened to be in the New York state education department when the school desegregated. It is true, New York City was cut out of bussing reimbursement. Then it was changed so it is true that bussing reimbursement in New York State is about 90 percent of cost. It does take some of the financial sting out of it. However, in New York and in every city what we were able to do is to redeploy funds which were available, whether they were Title I funds or any other

state funds, and you can redeploy them in such ways as to, you know, ease up any costs that might come.

Dr. Crain: That reminds me of things which come in the category of political strategy, and one is that you ought to mobilize to the extent that you have to mobilize the citizens, or at least go talk to them so that they won't mobilize against you. You ought to start with your friends, and your obvious friends are the PTA's which are more favorable and more loyal to the school system than any other citizens' group. The second thing is that I think in this kind of game the school board president is probably a more useful political figure than the superintendent.

mobilize friends

board president more useful than superintendent

Question: What about districts that have geographic or demographic problems which cannot integrate on a one-way basis. Are you saying it is impossible then?

Dr. Crain: Nothing is impossible. I drew the school boundaries for Waukegan, Illinois at the request of the plaintiffs. It happened that by rather dramatic changes in walking distance,

gerry-mandering

you could maintain the neighborhood school concept but get that school up to about 50 percent white by just gerrymandering it, so I produced this gerrymandering plan. It seems to me you could figure out some way. I would think facetiously I would change the name of the school in the ghetto area and wipe it out and make it disappear and have the buildings emerge from the ashes as a new school.

Participant: It seems to me that Berkeley furnishes an example of some of the things you are saying are not likely to happen.

Dr. Crain: I think I have been unintentionally misleading. The point that I want to make is that most cities have integrated without great conflict and perhaps, and I am sure that in saying that I left the impression that, you know, that there are some places like Berkeley where it is hopeless. Clearly, Berkeley is not at all hopeless. They pulled off a pretty good integration plan. They didn't do it by no conflict. There was just a different strategy in a city like Berkeley but you can use it too.

AFTERNOON SESSION OF APRIL 28, 1969

Discussion with Dr. Lloyd Henderson, Acting Chief,
United States Office of Civil Rights,
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Lloyd Henderson: I think the biggest question that we face right at this moment in the last few months is where does HEW stand in the school desegregation and in Title VI. I think it stands where it has always stood, on the clear and simple language that is in Title VI. In recent weeks, as you are probably aware, the public spotlight on Title VI has been more intense because of the change in administration in Washington. Our staff members who negotiate with school districts found once again that private citizens who are the policymakers expected somehow that discrimination would be permitted to continue, but such is not the case. As far as the dual systems themselves are concerned, the President, the Secretary and the Supreme Court have made it clear that tokenism and deliberation are no longer permissible.

position of HEW

Now, I have always been convinced that the desegregation plan which has the greatest chance of acceptance in the community by black and white citizens alike is that plan which makes across-the-

compatibility of quality education and integration

board educational changes, because that is the first desire of the parent and of the school system, and there is no reason that there should be any conflict between an integrated education and quality education.

recent negotiations

During the past year we have negotiated with Southern educators on one theme, and that is, give us a desegregation plan that will tell us how you will abolish the last vestiges of the dual system by September of 1969, or, in a few special cases, by the fall of 1970. The plans most commonly used are new construction to break up racial isolation in rural parts of the South, the assignment of students on a geographical basis and simply desegregation by bus transportation.

Civil Rights Act

I think Title VI has proved to be effective. Many superintendents found early in the life of the Civil Rights Act that the language of the law was pointed enough to persuade the community that change of discriminatory programs had to be brought about when the changes were made. Everything that I see bears out the premise that white

and minority citizens can live with the certainty of the law better than with uncertainty as to whether the law means what it says. When the Civil Rights Act became law, probably fewer than two percent of the Negro students in the South were in desegregated schools. Today that figure has increased to approximately 20 percent, ranging from almost 40 percent in Texas to seven percent in Mississippi. This 20 percent includes both districts desegregating under plans negotiated with HEW and those which have resulted from order of the court. Those districts desegregating under HEW have about 25 percent desegregation.

court action vs. HEW action

A district desegregating under the HEW guidelines may very well be surrounded by a school district -- by school districts that are under a court order, a court-approved freedom of choice plan. HEW does not accept freedom of choice plans any longer, but in the court order districts there may be little or no desegregation. This obviously creates very serious community problems. This situation has arisen because, as the major appellate courts and the Supreme Court changed the law, HEW has changed its policy and has asked the school districts to comply with what is then the law of

the land. But litigation against an individual school district is extremely time-consuming, and the order of a district court judge may have to be appealed several times before there is a court order which meets current judicial standards. Obviously, this kind of situation presents an almost intolerable problem for the district which is complying with HEW. However, when a court does order a school district that is under the court order to make changes, the judge very often gives them much less time to plan for those changes than does HEW. If the school districts failed to agree with what HEW requires, HEW was to submit those plans to the court, and the court will adopt them, unless the plantiffs or the defendants can show that they are somehow unreasonable.

I commented at some length on school desegregation in the South, but our job in the North poses just as many problems. Title VI is not a regional law. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare this year for the first time has more people working in Northern school desegregation than it does in the South. By March we had conducted approximately 40

Northern desegregation

investigations in a dozen cities. Five school districts had been placed on notice that they were in violation of the law. We have now started proceedings to cut off all Federal funds to the first school district in the North, a school district in the State of Michigan.

It is obvious that in the North racial isolation is a massive problem, but it is not so easy to show that this isolation is rooted in public policy, and that is what we must do. The process of separating a segregation that is based on discriminatory policy from that which is based on housing or economic conditions is time-consuming, and it requires considerable staff expertise. But Secretary Finch's report to Congress in March makes it clear that while discrimination in the North is harder to prove and does require more manpower, these will not be excuses for failure to enforce Title VI.

The rather dismaying fact is that while the South is moving away from racial separatism, the Northern problem is growing worse in the public schools.

In 1967 the United States Commission on Civil

Rights found that three of every four Negro children in elementary schools in 75 major cities, North and South, attended all Negro schools and more than four out of five white students were in nearly all white schools. This, adds up to vastly inferior educational opportunity for Negro children. Much of the racial segregation in the North has resulted in public school from the specific acts of the school board. When we have advised school officials of these findings, their responses have ranged from one of shocked denial to relief that these issues are now out in the open and could be corrected. Some officials literally have asked us to sock it to them when we have come into their districts. But I would be less than honest if I left the impression that these positive responses occurred in a majority or even a large number of cases.

Secretary Finch has made it perfectly clear that he expects the office for civil rights to exhaust every effort to achieve voluntary compliance before asking for the ultimate weapon, which is cutting off of Federal funds. In the final analysis, the correction of dis-

crimination is the legal responsibility of the board of education. We do not like to cut off Federal funds. We will study. We will negotiate. We will be patient. We will be understanding. But when all of this fails, we will not hesitate to move to cut off all Federal funds. Our job, as we see it, is to secure equal protection of the law as the Constitution requires. Thank you.

HEW's position

Question: Under the Civil Rights Act isn't it conceivable that we should have to have two-way bussing?

two-way bussing

Dr. Henderson: This fact has not been established in law as yet. There aren't many arguments against one-way bussing. We are discovering in the South now, substantial opposition in the black community not to integration but to one-way integration.

Question: I think that segregation as you find it must be based on public policy. How does that contrast with the real problem that appears to exist in many of the districts of housing giving de facto segregation?

de-facto

Dr. Henderson: Title VI doesn't apply to de

segregation

de facto segregation.

Participant: In the recent decision of Hoffman versus Cook County, Illinois, the court stated that

Hoffman vs. Cook County

the public acts which had taken place over time by the board of education had created a residential pattern which the school district shows now, and in this order, the busses go both ways.

Dr. Henderson: That is true. They proved discrimination there. They proved the existence of a dual system. If we can prove discrimination, i.e., a dual school system for brown and black and white students, then it becomes a legal obligation of the board to disestablish, to do what it can to correct that discrimination. I am talking about de facto segregation. However, whenever a court case has come up, there is pretty great evidence that there is no such thing as true de facto segregation.

Question: Is there some wording in The 1964 Civil Rights Act specifically directed to bussing?

can't force bussing

Dr. Henderson: Yes. We are prohibited to force bussing to overcome racial imbalance.

Question: Can you require bussing to break through a dual school system?

Dr. Henderson: I don't know legally whether

whether we could. We haven't.

Participant: I would suggest that I probably share the experience of at least one or two other superintendents around this table of having the newspapers call me in regard to the fact that we are likely to be investigated, and that is the first, last and only word I have heard for seven months on it. Out of all this assistance, presumably, that you have indicated to be available at the Office of Equal Opportunity, I think we would appreciate it a great deal more if you would send someone over to help us instead of sending someone over to say we will be tried in the newspapers before the case is proved.

Dr. Henderson: Well, I agree with you. In this March report to the Congress, a number of school districts were included in that report in which revisions have been recommended but not yet approved. That list of school districts should not have appeared there. But before we do come to the district, you will receive both written and telephone messages.

Question: Do you know the criteria on which those districts were listed in the first place?

Dr. Henderson: Generally, our criteria is school districts between 3,000 and 70,000 students and at least one minority group school which had 80 percent or more minority. And the basic question we want to know whenever we go to a school district is: How did this minority qroup school become that way?

HEW's criteria

Question: How much of a club do you really have? I am speaking as an outsider, but with a little experience with school budgets, I think the average would be only ten percent of a school budget for Federal funds, and cutting this off would be primarily hurting those in the central city or the ghetto area.

Dr. Henderson: I don't know of many school districts that can afford to lost a nickel, not to say five or ten percent of their funds.

Question: What other recourse is there that would have some kind of punitive effect other than holding funds?

Dr. Henderson: We can enforce Title VI in two ways. One is cutting off funds after an administrative hearing. The second is we can refer to the Department of Justice to enforce a

methods of initiating action

contract that all the school districts signed in order to obtain Federal funds back in 1965. And then the Department of Justice can go to district court, Federal District Court and sue. There are two other ways. If the Department of Justice receives a complaint from a parent or a student in that school district under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, they can sue. And the final way is if a parent or a group, private group files, the Department of Justice can intervene.

Question: These suits could end in impeachment; is that correct?

Dr. Henderson: No, not impeachment. Well, I suppose theoretically they could. They would result in a court order desegregation plan, and then if the school officials failed to carry out that plan, there could be contempt proceedings, and theoretically the school board or superintendent could end up being fired or sent to jail. I don't know of any school officials having been sent to jail.

Question: Would you care to comment on some of the implications of the Wright decision as far as it affects curriculum?

Wright decision

Dr. Henderson: I think there are a lot of implications in the Wright decision. I think there are a lot of implications not only legally but also educationally in how we group which often doesn't have much of an educational justification. I would suggest you inform yourself on that one by reading Justice Hoffman's decision. I think it has tremendous implications that courts will not stop a school district from acts which are not arbitrary and capricious and which have educational soundness to them, and courts will not interpose themselves in judgmental matters in terms of education.

Participant: Judge Wright did, though. He exceeded his prerogative when he started dealing with the curriculum.

Dr. Sheats: Shall we ask Fred Gunsky to give us a little information here about the State situation?

California regulations

Fred Gunsky: In California, laws and policies are in the developmental stage. As you know, the State Board of Education adopted in February of this year amendments to two parts of the Administrative Code. The policy now stands strengthened in saying

that governing boards of school districts in California must exert all effort to prevent and eliminate racial imbalance. For purposes of interpreting these regulations and requiring the study of corrective plans, a school that is 15 percent out of line with the racial and ethnic composition of the district as a whole, is one which requires some correction. Then there is also a requirement that there be periodic racial and ethnic surveys with the results reported to the Department of Education.

Federal people provide advice and assistance to school districts in complying with their regulations and the law. We are a part of that mechanism also. The State Department of Education has staff to provide that kind of advice and assistance to California school districts. The Bureau of Intergroup Relations is described in a folder on the table.

Question: Dr. Henderson mentioned three to 70 for the first time around and one school with 80, and then I think, if I read correctly, Dr. Henderson, you also mentioned the 50 percent. Is there any significance to those figures?

Dr. Henderson: No, there is no significance in those numbers. What we did was try to establish a workload, given the size staff we have.

Question: If you find a situation where you have 80 percent majority population and two or three schools scattered around with 30, 35, 40 percent minorities, how would you look at this?

Dr. Henderson: We wouldn't look right now. We have so many in that other category.

Question: As it stands right now, we are supposed to have a plan on file. Is that the way you said it?

Fred Gunsky: No. You have the responsibility to deal with this problem. There probably will be a procedure by which the State will ask to see what plans you have at some time.

Question: Two things. We are interested in knowing about when we can expect some guidelines or something on this. The second thing is this 15 percent has been read several ways and, of course, this is the reason some districts, again such as mine, are looking for guidelines.

California regulations

Fred Gunsky: For purposes of an approach to corrective plannings we are talking about the

distance of school patterns from district-wide percent. You asked when guidelines are likely to be available and whether they will specifically define these things. We have prepared a preliminary draft that is now being reviewed by the department. I don't know how long it will take to pass through channels but I should think it will probably take months.

Question: What about Jewish populations in large cities like Los Angeles?

Fred Gunsky: The racial and ethnic groups that have been counted in the survey are Spanish, other white, Negro, Oriental, American Indian, other nonwhite.

Question: Now the problem is that we have a number of programs going on in these target schools, ESL and other programs, that if youngsters were to be transferred to other schools, then these special programs would not be available to these youngsters.

effect on Title I programs

Gus Guichard: In addition to the wording of the regulation which spells out that you should take into consideration the effect on the educational plan in making any kind of feasible

plans for balance, it seems to me that the intent of the Title I program is that the programs are available to the individual student and not necessarily to the school.

Paul Sheats: Several people have referred to where are you going to get the money, and I think we should have a report from Arthur Azevedo.

Assemblyman Bagley's Bill

Arthur Azevedo: Assemblyman Bagley has introduced AB 944. It was developed in conjunction with the Division of Compensatory Education and the Bureau of Intergroup Relations. There are two parts to the bill. The legislative finding and policy part is simply an attempt to show State commitment to eliminating racial imbalance. The second part is the program part which allows any school district which, because of financial reasons, has been unable to undertake a program to eliminate ethnic and racial imbalance, to apply for funds. They can apply for grants to do three things, to develop a plan, to implement a plan, and to evaluate the effect of such a plan. Those school districts that have done something, are also, under Section 94 of the bill, allowed to apply for grants to supplement existing district efforts to carry out its

educational program to provide integrated education. The political realities of this, at least the policy part, are very, very difficult.

Dr. Sheats: We are going to propose that we break into three subgroups after the break and that you take into account in the subgroups these agenda priorities which we took out of the meeting's reaction sheets. These were your own choices, not ours.

Paragraph 1: Bussing, two-way versus one-way.

Paragraph 2: Are the problems for integrating Mexican-Americans different from the problems we spend most of our time on related to the blacks?

Paragraph 3: Alternative strategies. What do you do in rural communities? What do you do in specific situations where you have got a split board? What about boundary changes as a possible alternative to getting out of the problem? What about the matter of site selection?

Paragraph 4: How do you make a plan if you are going to move to integrate. How do you get maximum staff involvement and support? How do you get agreement among different minority groups, and so forth?

EVENING SESSION OF APRIL 28, 1969

Reports From Discussion Groups

Paul Sheats: Group One will report on one item which occupied their attention and on which they had some input to make. Then we will turn to Group Two and Group Three for one from each. Then we will go back and make the circuit again.

Recorder: The thing we started talking about was this is a good time to push desegregation and maybe we can do some things to back us up. Maybe we ought to start moving. Some of the steps we looked at are the need to start with the board of trustees to apprise them of the situation. It was suggested that it would help us to have a positive strong position statement perhaps from the board and from the superintendent here and some kind of explicit authority coming from the board as to how they would want the superintendent to move in those areas. At the same time, great stress was made of the fact that staff needs to be involved quite early at the beginning here.

policy statement

involve staff

We talked about approaches. Maybe a kind of piecemeal approach rather than a kind of massive attack on the problem was suggested. We talked a

piecemeal approach

little bit about this time issue. We agreed that we don't want this stretched out too long. On the other hand, because Riverside did it in a month, that might not be the criterion either. The need for commitment and conviction on the part of the superintendent was continually stressed. And I think it was pretty well agreed by the group that this business of recruiting minorities is not simply for teaching positions but for getting minorities in positions of authority and power and that this is extremely important.

Question: What was the reference to piece-meal approach?

Recorder: Well, our feeling -- wasn't it that we should set a long-term objective, which would be integration of the schools, differentiated from desegregation, which would be the next step, and then we would attempt to develop within the context of the long-range goal a schedule of sequences that would definitely take place?

Paul Sheats: Shall we go on to Group Two?

Recorder: There was some concern expressed

about the degree to which minority groups were still interested in desegregation proposals and approaches. A recent survey indicated that some 80 to 85 percent of black minorities in this particular survey, which was a nation-wide one, are still interested in desegregation and see it as a viable goal. Then moving from that point was a further observation that you must be very clear that an integration goal is educationally defensible. And another observation that as years pass viable desegregation becomes more difficult. An observation was made that the Federal Government is likely to take on the state board of education.

minority support

educationally defensible

time running out

In terms of the initiation of a plan, it was felt very strongly, that there needs to be a statement or some sort of expression of commitment from the board. Secondly, was an expression of the commitment of the superintendent. Thirdly, there was a concern that a definition of quality education needed to be kept foremost in the minds of those developing such a program. Fourth, there was some indication that one of the alternatives or

statement from the board

commitment of superintendent

definition of quality education

options available would be to invite a team from the Bureau of Intergroup Relations to develop a plan for the district. The next two are references, one to the kind of technical assistance the Title IV Code provides as well as some informal called-for pressure from the Title VI office of Mr. Pierce.

use of Bureau of Intergroup Relations

Question: If you had to go back and have a board meeting tomorrow night, how would you go about selling it? I am speaking on terms of how do you prove it to the hard-nosed emotional hothead?

Participant: If you are going to operate on the emotional level, then maybe you need a citizen within your district who will testify to the deficits that occur in a segregated situation.

selling the plan

Participant: The Coleman Report is based on half a million citizens. This is the beginning, and you might need someone to help interpret it to you. Bob's study, the sample of 1,700 hasn't been published yet, but these are the two big ones.

Participant: The thing I am saying is that being able to cite research on this one makes no

difference, the only way to solve it is on the basis of emotion.

superintendent as advocate

Participant: The superintendent has to apply all his techniques of advocacy on this issue as he does on passing the budget or the tax base.

Participant: We are a low-wealth district. You go in with a plan that requires more busses on a two-way bussing system and, boy!

Participant: I will tell you what we did in Inglewood. We developed a position paper for the board over a period of time, and we used all the rationale we could muster through the court cases, through the law of the land and through books. Those proved to be effective.

Participant: You have got to go through that metamorphosis yourself and how can anybody tell you how to do that. Get yourself out there and expose yourself. Some of that is going to be uncomfortable.

Participant: We have all seen superintendents and their staff sell unbelievable programs to board members if they are

committed to their programs.

Dr. Sheats: Let's go on to Group Three.

optional vs. mandated bussing

Recorder: We talked about optional bussing and we talked about mandated bussing. We had some members who are currently operating optional bussing programs, and they noted that after a few years that you can begin to request it also, providing efforts are made by the district to sell the optional bussing plan. They said we ought to build up the minority school with some type of special programs in order to get a majority to request bussing. Are there any other members of the group that would like to add to this?

making minority schools attractive

Participant: Since I sat in, I think what follows that is if you just send the minority kids to that school and you don't have anything for them, they are likely to be isolated in the new school.

one-way vs. two-way

Recorder: We discussed one-way -- two-way. We came to no conclusion. In Denver and in Seattle they have done something -- I don't know what it is -- to make a program attractive enough to bus white youngsters into the black ghetto.

Participant: Although I am in favor of integration and the possible outcomes of what it can do for the children, yet I feel very, very strongly that our priority is quality education. I have yet to hear one Mexican-American say, why don't we get my kids over with the Anglo kids. But I have heard many, many of them say, I want to make sure that my youngster can learn to read and write English.

quality education vs. integration

Participant: I wish it were possible for us to lay to rest once and for all that somehow quality education is not synonymous with integration. It just occurs to me in terms of parents asking for certain things, that probably prior to 1954 there were very few black parents asking for integration, you know. I am not at all certain that we can put as much faith in the innate ability of people who have been isolated and disenfranchised in making the kind of decisions that would ultimately benefit the education of their youngsters.

shouldn't only listen to public opinion

Participant: In the Riverside program is there a demonstration in the past three

years about which you can say something as to the effects of desegregation?

Jane Mercer: I think the most significant things that we found were that there were no changes in the achievement of the Anglo youngsters. We found that the minority youngsters, their achievement was just about the same as they had before. One thing that was a bit disconcerting is that we do have the teachers' rating on the youngsters, and we do know that once the children were in desegregated schools they were more negatively viewed by the teachers in the desegregated schools than they had been viewed by the teachers in segregated schools, and knowing the classroom and the self-ful-filling prophecy, we feel rather apprehensive about this. There was no change in the children's self-concepts. If you are interested in some of the ethnic differences, there were tremendous ethnic differences. We found, for example, that Mexican-American children have significantly greater general anxiety. They have significantly greater school anxiety. The Negro children's anxiety

results of Riverside evaluation study

is significantly higher than the Anglo children's anxiety.

Participant: We find the Mexican-American has a much greater identity problem. Ernie gives a rather extensive breakdown of how he saw the Mexican-American in two senses. I asked him if he would review it with you.

Ernie Robles: I think the first thing we have to do is to internalize desegregation as an educationally sound procedure. When you are talking about desegregation, you are talking about the educational program, because what influences achievement is the setting of school at the junior high school where they don't raise their hand or they don't participate or they don't take their books home because of peer group pressures or of other factors impinging on their behavior which in turn impinge on achievement. So I really don't see where we can really divorce school desegregation from quality education.

can't separate quality and integration

Now, let me go into this one community, again just a descriptive analysis of what happened in a community that went through the

analysis of Mexican-American community

process of desegregation. Within the greater community there were Spanish surnames which roughly you could divide into two groups, one group being the Mexican-Americans who had assimilated in everything but name. Intermixed were other Mexican-Americans who socio-economically were the same as these and the same as many Anglo Americans, but they had an identity with the barrio and would not be embarrassed if you called them Mexican-American. Now in the barrio there is a social structure. It has a distinct higher class. Now within the higher class what gives position or status within the community? What is the one institution that is there - a de facto segregated school. Who has status in that school? Usually the higher-up or upper class from the barrio. Then you have a middle class which is generally a follower group and will follow the upper class. Then you have the lower class.

Focusing in then on desegregation, in this particular city the reaction of the assimilated group in the greater community was anti-inte-

gration. Well, why? Because they themselves felt they had made it by struggling hard, working hard and that if these people over in the barrio worked hard "like I did," they too could mix in. Many times they also reflected opinions such as that their children would be embarrassed by these children in their school or that the teacher now would see Lopez and not be able to tell that Lopez was assimilated and Lopez over here was not. This other group in the greater community had more of an identity, and generally their feeling was for integration. The upper class in the barrio was against integration. Why? Well, they had status in this particular school, and as long as that school was there, their status would remain intact. Quite a bit of it was also defensive about what the mass media says about ghettoes and barrios and de facto areas, that the schools are inferior. If my school is inferior and I have been president of the PTA for a number of years there, you are really telling me that I am inferior. So generally we found that the upper class, which had been the traditional and historic spokesmen for the barrio and the

opposition of Mex.-Amer. teachers to integration

greatest supporters of the school administration, now did a complete reversal. Now a conflict developed here, because this upper class barrio group then considered this group of assimilated Mexican-Americans who supported integration as the outside agitators who were coming to cause unrest. This particular group of barrio leaders went throughout the community with the petition and got the usual 500 to 700 signatures. The middle class barrio residents also signed petitions because the leaders said to, and you know that their next step is to be leaders. This group of lower class barrio residents here also signs the petition but for a different reason. They signed it on a convenience basis because this was the group that generally sent the kids to school when the warning bell rang and they could hear the warning bell from the kitchen. They would also get up at 8:15 or 8:30, and now you come along and you say you are going to bus. That means I have to get up at 7:30 or 6:30. What happens if junior is left by the bus and he has to come home? You hear things like a parent who has six children in grades kinder-

garten through six and all six come home for lunch, and she makes a big bowl of soup and they all eat out of the bowl and now she is going to have to get a loaf of bread every night and a pound of ham or some other kind of meat at 79 cents a pound.

If you want to examine your own school system, look at the drop-outs and look at your continuation high school and look at your mentally retarded classes and look at the grades, report cards from Mexican-Americans. If you look at all the variables, you will see that the Mexican-American on the educational totem pole is definitely below the Negro. Integration is one of the more viable educational alternatives for this particular group of citizens. So I would say that again the first thing you have to do is establish an educational rationale. You don't make the frontal attack directly and say, you are inferior and this is what you have done and you have really not accomplished anything, but I think that you can convince the majority of people.

results of segregation on Mex.-Amer. student

Question: Isn't it still easier to sell one-way bussing?

Robles: By now we have a new phenomenon.

A lot of the children of people who do not identify as Mexican-Americans now are identifying as Mexican-Americans, and this is why you are going to have representation at your board meeting from the brown berets who will want to maintain their dignity and perhaps go to one extreme which is separatism to retain the neighborhood school.

Question: If you are saying that the Mexican-American leaders don't want integration because it takes away their status why doesn't this apply to the black leaders?

Robles: I can't answer that.

Participant: Isn't one of the factors in that situation you have described a sense of cultural pride, and this may not be quite the same thing with regard to any black ghetto group.

Robles: One of the things that I am wary of is when we emphasize the cultural dignity aspect too much, therefore, becoming patronizing, and really are talking about Mexican-Americans as if they were Mexican Nationals.

Question: Identity is a big question, but I got hung up on that when you stated they lose their identity. What identity?

Robles: I don't think that you have to lose your identity and, in fact, you can become a better American by being a better Mexican-American; and if there is anything to that statement it is that you accept yourself as an individual first. Now in terms of desegregation and the value of having these youngsters from this school interact at the kindergarten level with Anglos and others would be that they are acting as individuals and not members of a group, versus the Mexican-American youngster who goes to a de facto school and goes to a junior high school where he is often consciously and unconsciously treated as a member of a group rather than as an individual first, and if he is not by the institution itself, he certainly is by his peers, and the norms for that peer group have been developed down here where the only people he interacted with were Mexican-American so that the values are Mexican-American, so that when you go to the junior high school, then you come as a group. I think what is critical here is that within this group again there are some kids who are mobility oriented. That means they want to achieve. They want to perform. But oftentimes, that particular

social pressures on Mex.-Amer. student in segregated setting

kid is more influenced by his peers than by any counselor, teacher, parent. So that maybe in the English class he did want to speak in front of his class and get the two paragraph essay that was assigned as homework last night, but his friends let him know usually through sarcasm or facial expression or other subtle means that he should not present this in the classroom. These are some of the rational reasons why I feel that a de facto segregated school situation has quite a bearing on achievement.

I would like to answer the question on the inferior status of the de facto school, and this is something that you really have to wrestle around with also, especially if you have an ego-involved principal in there, because he is going to be one of the greatest forces to get the petitions or any other support against your desegregation. In terms of the inferiority, I suspect, that in a lot of these schools, it is really more by default and by unconsciousness that the school becomes this way than by intent. In a barrio school, unlike

inferiority of de facto school by default

an Anglo school, this constant interaction between school and parent is not there. Because the Mexican-American, and again this is a general statement, by and large gives the responsibility of education in total to the school and to the teacher, so this is one of the reasons why the school then by default starts to lessen its requirements in terms of the curriculum.

Dr. Sheats: A comment I have in closing is that there is an undercurrent of social urgency, and I underscored one of the opening statements from Group Two when they said if we don't act others will.

Participant: One thing that a few of us felt last night in the session was that there seemed to be little or no commitment to integration as a necessary ingredient in education.

Participant: I have been in a considerable number of meetings on the same topic and I don't know if I have ever been in one where I have heard people be more defensive than I have heard at this meeting.

Participant: It is not that we lack concern. It is that we have the pragmatic problem of a board that is split four-to-one against. And when someone runs for the board and gets elected on a no bussing platform, this tells everybody a little something. I may not be right, but it is a fact.

public resistance

Participant: I would have to confess as an educator I am always wary of statistics. They have been used against me too many times.

Participant: I personally accepted the educational findings and implications. I know that as an educational leader I am professionally obligated to do something about it. I haven't taken any action, but I have done an awful lot of

talking here. Here is a fellow who hasn't done any talking. He closed a school two months after he went into the district and wiped out a 90 percent racially imbalanced school.

Participant: We had one thing going for us. We had an opportunity to be able to use the school. The county was looking for a point two school and willing to take it over from us.

Participant: So you found reasons to justify, in terms of economics or some other reason, educational movement. This is what I am proposing to do next September. We are going to close one school and combine the population on another site.

Participant: Partical politics is what it really is, and it's stupid to go for something you know you are going to get your nose bloodied on and lose anyway.

Participant: We just lost a bond election, a tax election. To come back in September and propose that we bus large numbers of children when we haven't the money to operate the facilities and give a raise would be absolutely stupid, in my opinion, because I know it is not going to work. So then we need to build and wait for the opportune moment to

take some more of these children by bus or something else, and, of course, the State hasn't helped any, in their wisdom with saying that we build classrooms on only the two schools that have the heaviest minority population with S.B. 28 funds. So, to be a superintendent you have to be practical, I think, or you won't be there very long, and take advantage, be an opportunist whenever you can and move in the direction you want to go.

be an opportunist

Participant: One of the great contributing factors to retard progress has been the fact that the State and Federal Governments in their allocation of funds are overwhelmingly for compensatory education.

harmful effects of comp. ed.

Participant: It seems to me if that is, and I believe it is, a fact that the compensatory education procedures seem to somehow encourage segregation, then you know, a committee of superintendents such as is represented by the districts here, I think, would be very significant in at least trying to encourage the development of guidelines which do not do that. I think it really gets, again, if you don't mind my bringing

superintendent as advocate

that nasty word up again, to the point of advocacy.

Participant: We wrote 25,000 letters to our legislators and the Governor. How far did we get? Well, we got their attention.

Participant: I think there is a relationship between the quarterback on the football team and a school superintendent. First of all, in order to be a good quarterback you need to know your spots and you need to know your own staff. You need to be pretty sensitive and be alert to opportunities.

Participant: We talked yesterday about the need for the superintendent to advocate a point of view but you are going to have to get his attention to do this, because, you have an operating mechanism that prevents your directing your attention at any single issue for any length of time.

over-loaded work-load

Participant: It seems to me that some of the stuff we are using as a crutch. We can blame the Governor. We can blame the superintendents. We can blame everybody, but our primary responsibility is good education, and over the

failure of school system

years and for 30 years or more in some areas, we have done a miserable job. If integration makes quality education easier and better, then we have got one of the best selling points that we will ever have. The university and ourselves and all of us need to concentrate on this thing that Gus has talked about and Ernie talked about, quality education. How do we get it? It is more than just the integration part of it. These kids that are dropping out because they haven't been educated and a lot of them we have let down. I read in the paper where somebody wants to throw out Head Start now. But it seems to me that we acted too quickly. We are concentrating on the negative. What are the good things about Head Start? There are a lot of good things. We emphasize the negative part instead of that part that is really useful. I think if you went into the districts and found out what they were really doing, you will find that many of them are pushing like hell.

emphasize the positive

Participant: I think sometimes that we assume that conditions exist especially in regard to integration that aren't really there. We

mis-reading public senti-ment

desegregated the primary grades in the Mexican-American de facto segregated school last fall after much trauma. In advance of this we conducted a survey of parent opinion. I think all of us were really surprised that we had the biggest return of parent questionnaires of any survey that we conducted in this area. Of those 70 to 80 percent were favorable in regard to how they felt about the type of education that their youngsters were getting under a desegregated situation. I think you have to really look at this thing carefully and make sure you are interpreting the signs correctly.

Jane Mercer: I would like to just add one word to that. We found exactly the same situation in Riverside and even in the Mexican-American community, which you can very well believe opposed. When we actually talked to the individual parents we found 60 to 70 percent were in favor of the integration. The leaders hadn't talked this way. A year after we went back and interviewed the same parents and asked them how they felt, and the opinion

was still very favorable. I think there is a pull of favorable opinion in the community that is easy not to recognize is there, because the people who are opposed are so vocal and so vehement.

Participant: We are more involved in the movement than we are in the program itself, and you have to have both, because just getting the kids there is going to kill the deal if you don't have a quality program when you get there.

support for statewide task force of superintendents

Participant: We have also had recently in the last year a statewide task force of superintendents, which had as one of its goals the mobilizing of support for integrated education. Obviously, not enough has been done in that direction. How could people who are here and people they know move us forward in the direction of representative support, association support, public support for integrated education? I think we have both seen the development of a certain situation within the task force where those who do participate -- let me say it this way -- seem not to be aware of the expressions of

administrative concern for integrated education that I have heard expressed here just recently. I think as a group they probably feel somewhat isolated. There needs to be perhaps some kind of co-ordinated approach.

Participant: There has been a feeling on the part of some superintendents who commented on the in-group isolation of the small group of superintendents and the general in-groupness of a certain number of superintendents who have been in the state for a long time, many of whom seem to be law and order types.

Participant: Could we get back to this comp. ed. thing. This has been a continuing concern in our area that compensatory education generally rewards the school district for failing to go ahead with integration.

Participant: It seems to me that if you wish to make this point where it should have the maximum effect, some of you ought to be expressing this to the Director of Compensatory Education, to the State Board of Education, to the people who may possibly have something to say about it. Nevertheless, it is my opinion that the money

express concerns to administrators and legislators

constraints are still going to be there. They emanate from Washington, not from Sacramento.

Participant: Maybe you need to be making this point also to Congressmen. I know that there is a concern we are not moving fast enough, and I don't know how fast is fast enough, but you can't move much faster than you can take your community along with you. Now, within this framework, it seems to me we can still get the job done without raising fears and without getting people concerned if we can co-ordinate these various groups that you are talking about. We need money. We need a program. We need know-how, the help of the university. Have we ever really come up with a program that we all support?

Participant: May I suggest that perhaps without waiting for a request and with an accompanying covering letter that it might be well to send a copy of these proceedings to the official leadership in CASA and CTA and CSBA. Perhaps to the legislators, at least in the educational committee and to the task force on intergroup education, indicating that there

distribution of proceedings

is this concern. Here are some of the restraints we see, some of the problems and opportunities, and so on, and indicate that even though there may just be a small group here, this is a group of people in leadership positions who support forward movement and lend encouragement and empathy to the efforts being made by other groups in the State.

Participant: In a sense, by our own choosing, we have said that there are only two choices. One is bussing one way. Another is bussing two ways. But Dr. Henderson also had other alternatives, and one of those alternatives is a positive use of boundary changes to reduce minority concentration. It is assignment of experienced teachers to your inner city. Another is a greatly intensified recruitment of minority teachers. But here again the main focus of the proceedings, it would appear to me, should be to recognize and indicate an agreement about the assumption, if not the fact, that integration is necessary to quality education and we support that premise.

Participant: You have to get support from

the Federal Government in a positive way. When you talk about $2,000,000, they laugh at you. Two million dollars in Los Angeles is nothing. If you want to go into it on an all-out basis, according to the discussion I heard, the Federal Government is going to have to make some firm commitments in terms of the amount of money you get and not just say, if you don't do it, you guys lose it.

federal financial support

Participant: I am not at this point feeling as strongly against compensatory education as I hear some of you people saying here.

Participant: We have a choice of one or the other, because there is not that much money to go around.

Participant: You are saying let's do away with compensatory education because it is hurting integration. This is what I hear.

Participant: No. I am saying we can get more money to do the other. If we can't get enough money to cover the whole gamut, could we come out with a statement that we need money for -- let's concentrate on Head Start, kindergarten, first, second and third grade.

We need money for in-service training of teachers.

Participant: One thing that seems to me, we have some effective advocates represented here. The most effective advocate I know could be the largest city unified school district in the State. Is it possible that CASA could be used more effectively as a vehicle for following up on this?

Participant: If you talk about Coleman and Crain, these are big city slickers, but if you talk about Riverside, they will listen.

Participant: The chances of California and New York getting more money are not too good.

Participant: Yes, we hope we will get more money but we are going to have to do something at the local level to push this ahead and I don't think we can wait.

Participant: I know that the proceedings are important as a vehicle for making sure that the message is available to those who can use it, but I think there are people here who, through their associations, through channels they have to decision makers, legislators and others, could do some follow-up.

follow-up to conference

Participant: Maybe we ought to have more copies of the proceedings for distribution to CASA to its 1,800 membership.

Jim Hartley: We don't know whether there will be money for additional conferences, but we are hoping there will be. We might know a little more by the time we get this out to you, and at that time we will probably send an evaluation form.

Participant: I would like to see some kind of a follow-up, say in a year or whatever it is or less and see where the people sitting around here are in comparison to where they are today.

Discussion Of What The University Can Do

Jane Mercer: President Hitch made a speech that the University was not really relevant. At that time a plea went out from the President's office saying, "Would you give this some serious thought," to the various campuses. And when this came to the Riverside campus, because I was involved in the desegregation study, they said, "Your study is relevant to problems." So it was at that time Jim and I got together. It was out of these discussions that the idea for this conference came. In the evaluations we would like your honest reactions. Is there anything really that the University can do?

Participant: One thing that you are more intimately associated with and is one of the great problems of our times which has been used to beat education to death is the unrest on campuses, and the degree to which you could go into that and help resolve -- maybe not resolve it but get a better understanding of it or both -- would be the greatest single thing you could do for public schools.

Participant: If the University is going to do what we are talking about, they have to go

beyond the social science professors getting together or the superintendents getting together or the like of that, and we have to go to the businessman, the board member or the legislator.

Participant: I think we ought to talk about housing problems. If we would go to the Board of Realtors; if people would learn to live together in areas, and I think to work not only with the Chamber but the Board of Realty.

Participant: I think you should be involved more in education than just say the social sciences discussing it all the time. Get down to the nitty gritty of the problem.

Participant: Another thing would be helping to clarify public understanding of pupil censorship, profanity, obscenity.

Participant: One would be to sponsor Robles and Littleworth. Littleworth, I think, would have more impact on boards of education than any single person I have heard.

Participant: Could the University analyze its potential in terms of staff and working with school districts to identify their problems, then indicate staff people that might be available to

help them with it, but leave the option with the school district in terms of requesting the assistance, getting away from the impression that sometimes might be created that the University takes the initiative as if it had the answer necessarily?

Participant: The Bureau of Intergroup Relations has made the attempt to keep a formal record of secondary school racial incidents of at least more than usual nature. By and large, the experiences of the youngsters fighting across racial lines have been experiences in segregated situations. I wonder if it would be possible for the University to undertake some study to see indeed if there is some relationship between the degree of student racial tension in secondary schools and its relationship to a segregated school experience.

Participant: Maybe one of the things that the University would do, if they would like to, is answer what is optimum integration and come up with what seems to be accomplishing the best educational program.

Participant: You get into a trap if you just deal with numbers.

Jim Hartley: Jane does have a paper that discusses the stages to integration and amalgamation.

Participant: One suggestion was that if this was an effort to reach superintendents and administrators, there should be a similar effort perhaps focused on a smaller number of districts at a time to get school board members involved. Another suggestion was that there be a chance in seclusion like this for a problem solving effort, and this might be the first of a series, if it worked, where one or two districts at a time would be involved in dealing with concrete problems in a week end or two- or three-day concentrated study session. I think I would like to see every campus of the University of California adopt a school district and work with that school district in partnership in a demonstration program to deal with integrated education in a school. Another thought I had was that there is not a good publishing program, even a news letter or periodical about integrated education in the western United States.

Jim Hartley: A means of getting that started

might be to hire a clipping service to clip all the articles about integration from the whole state.

Participant: I think you would have to exercise some editorial restraint on what you disseminated, because just plain discourses wouldn't be useful.

Jim Hartley: There has been no discussion about teacher training or in-service education.

Participant: The University can assist in bringing people to us to help teachers understand the Mexican-American youngster's culture.

Participant: We have been using a technique of in-service education which seems to be somewhat rewarding. We will develop an outline prospectus of what we want to do and we can do with an institution of higher learning and convince them to sponsor the program and sponsor the instructor which they put on their payroll for a one-shot course or something like that. We had a program sponsored by San Jose called "Black is Becoming" and this was an effort to develop pride and respect for black people and their contribution to society, and we did the same thing for the Mexican-American. One of the things we found is that an awful lot of work needs to be done on staff in terms of not only informing them of facts

but also attempting to change identity, because it seems to me, as it came out of this conference, attitude is perhaps more important than preparation.

Participant: Perhaps the University can play a role here in developing some model programs of teacher training whereby certain behavior would be manifested.

Participant: Last year we developed a series of five television programs directed toward the types of teacher behaviors which would alienate youngsters in the classroom. These are available from Far West Laboratory.

Jim Hartley: We get some indication now and then that the school districts are so disaffected with the centers of higher education, and they want their own in-service education.

Participant: We have found that the successful teacher in the inner city schools have a lot to contribute to teachers, and they can talk a little more informally with teachers than somebody from the University.

Participant: What you are really saying is in addition to this the University needs to get its faculty out there in the field and find out what it

is like.

Participant: The University could perhaps help in how to develop new channels of communication with the community.

Jim Hartley: What are some topics you would like to know more about?

Participant: Is there any clear research on tracking?

Participant: Most of them have been through the professional type channels. You send them into professional journals. It is read by all the people who are not really involved.

Participant: When I said a publication program, I had that partly in mind. I did not mean only a news letter. I was thinking the results of research are not well disseminated.

Participant: What does research say about class size?

Participant: In relation to class size, what about some research dealing with the use of para-professional assistance?

Participant: I can show you enough reading material to take care of my 55 -- 60 hours a week in back reading material. What do you read? It is a

king-sized problem.

Participant: Maybe we could get some help in getting data on testing minority groups or not testing, or how do we use test results.

Participant: If I have a problem, I telephone some of my friends in some other town and ask, "What have you done in this area? All right, I will be down to talk with you."

Participant: Wouldn't it be a service then of a University center to make up a good group of resource people listed and available?

Participant: Something along the line that Theron Johnson set up. He suggested to any school district or any superintendent who was trying to develop a plan to move toward desegregation that he was available to come in.

Participant: They will listen to Littleworth, but they won't listen to Johnson, I don't think. It is not only what you say but who says it that is important.

Participant: Our superintendent and staff was provided a person from Washington who worked with us for thirty days, as well as someone from Sacramento, to develop a plan and a number of facets to it, and

this was extremely helpful.

Participant: One thing you can help us with is new curriculum materials.

Jim Hartley: I think we might focus on the Bureau of Intergroup Relations. Maybe they would like to have some suggestions.

Fred Gunsky: I have a pamphlet that briefly describes the three main areas that we work in. Specifically, assisting districts in the development of various desegregation plans, assisting Districts in looking at employment practices and developing methods of utilizing employment opportunities, and, thirdly, assisting districts in improving the quality of intergroup relations in the local situation. Let me just mention what we have called a team study and advisory report, and this is in most instances a fairly comprehensive report leading to both long-range and short-range recommendations of methods to correct racial imbalance and to improve intergroup relations within that district. What are other ways that you feel we might be helpful to you?

Participant: In this field of unrest, student unrest, you can draw certain conclusions and certain generalizations.

Jim Hartley: I don't know where you are in the pecking order. Is there anything this group might comment about pecking that would help you be pecked less often?

Gus Guichard: One can make the presumption that if Federal funding ceases, the Division of Compensatory Education ceases, then the services provided by the Intergroup Relations Bureau may cease. I think it is important that this sort of program, if it seems useful to school districts, should be supported in any way that you can, either by using it or letting people know you find it of value. Another aspect of our program is that we do have some informational materials available, and they are available on request. I might add that we also assist school districts in community relations.

Jim Hartley: We certainly want to thank all of you for taking time out of your busy schedules to come. I feel we have learned a great deal.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RIVERSIDE

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RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA 92502

April 3, 1969

You are invited to participate in a two-and-one half day dialogue, "Approaches to Desegregation: the Superintendent's Perspective", April 27, 28 and 29, at the University of California Conference Center, Lake Arrowhead.

Purposes of this program include providing an opportunity for you to join with your fellow school superintendents in examining issues, and alternative approaches for dealing with problems of desegregation through consideration of research and experimental data presented by lecturers and resource people. We hope superintendents will advise the University of school district needs to which the University Urban Crisis effort might be addressed. Your suggestions will be requested for matters needing research by the Riverside Campus Project studying school integration in Riverside as it expands its services to other communities. Representatives of the news media will not be invited. However, proceedings will be published which will protect your anonymity and which will be cleared with you in advance of publication.

Planned in cooperation with staff of the State Department of Education's Bureau of Intergroup Relations, the program is arranged to give you maximum opportunity to interact with other participants and the invited speakers, panelists and resource people on matters of crucial interest to you. Formal presentations will be kept to a minimum, and specific topics are only suggestive of what may be discussed. The dialogue begins with a meeting after dinner Sunday evening, with a panel discussing political issues and community problems in desegregation. Panelists will be Dr. Thomas Harward, Vice-President, the State Board of Education; Dr. Julian Nava, Member, the Board of Education, Los Angeles; Mr. Arthur Littleworth, President, the Board of Education, Riverside; and the Honorable Mervyn Dymally,

Member of the California Senate. Dr. Robert Crain, Professor of Social Relations, Johns Hopkins University and author of "The Politics of Desegregation", will be the only speaker for the session on Monday morning. Mr. Lloyd Henderson, Acting Chief, the United States Office of Civil Rights, will present a paper on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Also, Mr. Arthur Azevedo, Administrative Assistant to Assemblyman William Bagley of Marin County, will be present throughout the program to discuss your questions and offer advice concerning the Assembly Bill 944, which would set state policy for school integration and provide $2,000,000 for planning and implementing this proposed legislation.

Among the participating resource people will be Mr. Ples Griffin, Mr. Fred Gunsky, Mr. Gus Guichard, and Dr. Charles Molina of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations; Mr. Floyd Pierce, Regional Director, the Office of Civil Rights, San Francisco; Mr. Ernest Robles, Program Officer, Division of Equal Educational Opportunities, United States Office of Education, San Francisco; and Dr. Jane Mercer, Project Director of the Riverside School Study Project, University of California, Riverside.

The program will begin with registration at 5:00 p.m., Sunday, April 27. A social hour will be held at 5:30 p.m. Dinner will be served at 6:30 p.m. There will be no charge for meals and lodging. If you plan to fly, you will be met at the Ontario Airport, or local airports in Riverside or San Bernardino, and taken to the Conference Center.

The number of participants to be accepted is limited and preference will be given to school superintendents. If you plan to attend, please complete the enclosed form at your earliest convenience and return it to University Extension in Riverside. More details about the program will be sent to you in advance of the meeting.

Thank you for considering this invitation, we hope you can participate in this important event.

Sincerely,

Ivan Hinderaker
Chancellor

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Enclosure

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA EXTENSION, RIVERSIDE

APPROACHES TO DESEGREGATION:
THE SUPERINTENDENT'S PERSPECTIVE

April 27 - 29, 1969

Allred, Phillip A.
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Briggs, Homer, Superintendent
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Cochrane, William, Superintendent
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Crain, Robert
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